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ABSTRACT

Beginning with a comparison of American and Western European experiences, an introductory paper by David Parkes comments on Don Morgan's account of the social, economic, and moral context in which American education has developed. This comparative paper includes discussions on these issues: the value of relating American to Western European educational experiences, educational common problems and solutions in Europe, and particular educational difficulties in the United Kingdom. The title paper examines the purposes and functions (actual and supposed) of the major sectors of education in the United States. Concerned primarily with the relationship between education and work, the theory of some economists that education in the United States fulfills the interests of the elite is reviewed. It traces the rise of the major institutional forms of education and gives reasons for their emergence. These reasons are presented in the broad context of basic social institutions. Two recommendations are made: wholly new forms of educational institutions need to be invented and direct experience in technical, industrial, agricultural, or social service occupations should be a requirement for admission into postsecondary education. (YLB)

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VOCATIONAL OBJECTIVES WITHIN THE US EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

NUMBER SIX
1980

By Professor Don Morgan

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THE COMPARATIVE EXPERIENCES OF THE UNITED STATES AND WESTERN EUROPE

DAVID PARKES
STAFF TUTOR, COOMBE LODGE

Professor Don Morgan's account of the social, economic and, above all, moral context in which American education has developed - together with the history and structure of the education system - makes depressing reading for Western European educationalists. Where we are going, they have been. Where they are, we wish to be. The dilemmas we hope to resolve by arriving, remain - for the Americans - starkly unrelieved.

Professor Morgan argues that the American system obstinately mimics the Harvard model of academic distinction. Each new set of institutions is a yet paler reflection of academic standards, well used by the rich, obdurately standing as a barrier to the poor. He makes the case that work opportunities are unevenly divided by the education system; that vocational education is suborned by academics; that vocational training acts as a carousel for the unemployed - picking up, circling and dropping into an increasingly capital - rather than labour - based economy. He further suggests that education has joined the basic social institutions (family, economic, political, religious) in an increasingly custodial role, rather than as a provider of opportunity.

One might wish to dispute the fine detail of Morgan's social perspective but his account of the development of the American education system, extended over a century, is chilling in its relevance to current initiatives in Western Europe.

The Council of Europe has recently published a review of changing tertiary education in modern European society. The following section is included in its recommendations based on an evaluation of seven countries: France, West Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom.

"The question may be raised of whether the burden of mass education has not been laid too exclusively ..... on universities. It might be desirable to attract more students from the universities to other programmes, clearly differentiated from the first cycle university programmes by their more vocational nature and appropriate for less academically gifted students ....

"The American system is an example of this system that has to be regarded as one of the more appropriate systems of mass tertiary education:

a parallel system of first degree programmes, different as to purpose and levels, combined with a sequence pattern of programmes (usually in the universities).

"In Europe governments have been so concerned with the 'noble and less noble institutions' dilemma, that too little stress has been laid on a policy of differentiation of first cycle programmes. The equivalence of university and non-university institutions and programmes has been stressed move than a clear differentiation of programmes as to purposes and levels. If such a policy of differentiation were to get more support, tertiary education systems would most easily evolve to a system of parallel first degree (or diploma) programmes, different as to purposes and levels, combined with a sequence pattern of programmes. To be effective and efficient and to maximise the individual's opportunity the following demands have then to be met:

- A rather broad admission policy has to be accompanied by an evaluation at an early stage;
- First degree programmes in the same field of study have to be co-ordinated to facilitate transfer after the evaluation;
- Co-ordination must encourage transfer, after graduation in a short programme, to a long programme, and prevent the total length of study in tertiary education exceeding markedly the official length of the long programme."[1]

Professor Morgan, however, points out that:

"Tracing the development of educational institutions in the US leads to the conclusion that new ones repeat the mistakes of old ones. Because they maintain the status quo and possibly increase inequality, they allow themselves no alternative. The processes within the institutions resist change. It must be seriously challenged whether any institution can be called 'new' if it deals with faculties, credits, standards, degrees and buildings.

"We have wasted too much time and energy in trying to change something which cannot or will not change. A better use of the energy involved would be to invent new institional

forms which do not have roots in either status maintenance, the military, welfare, or institutionalised education."

And he is describing the creation of American educational institutions at the end of the 19th century! It is to be regretted that this century of experience translates directly to the Europe of the early 1970s: to the polytechnics in the United Kingdom, to the Institats Universitaires de Technologie in France to the Fachhochschulen in West Germany. All these institutions have similar roots. The UK's polytechnics illustrate the case. They had a mission: response to vocational needs, an escalation of levels, relevance to employment requirements, a part time rather than a full time emphasis.

Their mission was articulated in 1966; the first of the 30 polytechnics was designated in 1969. But by 1975 most were already preoccupied with full time academic degree students and difficulty in defining "vocational".[2]

And now in 1980 in England there are more than 60 colleges and institutes of higher education in addition to the universities and polytechnics. Most have a wide range of courses and levels fulfilling the criteria outlined by the Council of Europe, but their common level - their place in the sun - is the minimum requirement of a university or CNAA validated full time or sandwich degree course.

It is worth quoting another sentence from Professor Morgan's evaluation of the American experience:

"Those institutions which attempt to mimic the university the closest and fail to develop unique services of their own cannot compete with those same universities for the same population."

To be fair, Don Morgan's conclusions and the recommendations of the Council of Europe experts overlap. The latter argue for:[1]

(a) Tertiary education defined as all post secondary school activity.

(b) Planning for a single system of differentiated but co-ordinated programmes.

(c) Diversification within that system.

(d) Recurrent education as a strong feature of diversification.

(e) Broader admission policies.

(f) Promotion of part time education and distance learning.

(g) Close attention paid to the labour market, but in the context of the overall goals and values of society.

The rubs are: (i) the conservatism of institutions and

(ii) the juxtoposition of the above recommendations with the four goals for tertiary education put forward in the European text:[1]

1. Preparation of the labour market.
2. Advancement of knowledge.
3. Furthering of cultural and public life.
4. Personal growth.

These are hardly different from those of the American system pilloried by Morgan or, at this level of generalisation, any system, any time, anywhere.

Professor Morgan's paper is damming of the American experience and by implication of the European. Three major comparative questions do, however, require answers: is there any value in relating American to West European experience? Are there common problems and solutions in Europe? And more parochically, are there any particular difficulties in the United Kingdom?

The first question is the most intriguing. The American and West European democracies have in common a liberalism that can roughly be described as the enlightened distribution of political power and material comfort in an age dominated by technical advance. Each side has in common the paradox that *laissez faire* economic liberalism is not necessarily compatible with the organic growth of the individual. Each, also, faces the dilemma that the development of sophisticated technological and economic systems demand central interventions not necessarily compatible with the economic or social freedom of the individual - hence the haitus of student unrest in 1968 on both sides of the Atlantic.

The United States is fascinating in that it was set up as a new state is thus relatively free of the tangled historical webs of Europe. It is often treated as a more easily identifiable working model of a Western democratic state, particularly as its wealth has pushed social and economic institutions (and hence educational ones) further and faster than Europe. If it has been where we are going, then the future, for us, is relatively easy to predict. Any European post graduate student studying in the United States of 20 years ago could predict modular, credit and programmed learning systems. The caveat is the intervention of the 1973 oil crisis and the end of growth in educational expenditure. Nevertheless the Council of Europe is arguing for that US model which Don Morgan delineates so clearly.

On the second question, at first glance, European systems of education have little in common. Centralised versus decentralised - they are the outcome of separate cultural, linguistic and social histories. Common development, however, is remarkable both in timing and detail.

Putting to one side for the moment Professor Morgan's implication that such solutions would not resolve the underlying social

and ethical dilemmas - what of the third question, the singular problems of the United Kingdom? They have obvious parallels to the United States: a rapidly changing technology, increasing unemployment, dissatisfaction with current educational structures.

At the higher education end the system bears awful comparison with historical America. Universities and polytechnics are fighting resource cuts (and each other) while a new higher education sector demands parity of status. The Open University apart, it can be argued that the flexible and adaptive non-advanced further education sector (vocational, part time, modular, credit orientated) is more in line with Council of Europe recommendations.

Two factors mitigate against change in the UK. Firstly, there is no co-ordinating or national policy for education - higher or otherwise. Secondly, the current round of financial constraints seems to negate new or revised course proposals at the higher education level. The position, therefore, seems one of do little but let bits drop off the extremities.

When substantial change is recommended, the United Kingdom is among the least well equipped of its European partners to adapt.

There is, however, one crumb of comfort. The Council of Europe recommends changes towards that model which is the subject of Don Morgan's substantive criticisms. They go the wrong way while we go nowhere!

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VOCATIONAL OBJECTIVES WITHIN THE US EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

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INTRODUCTION

This paper examines the purposes and functions (actual and supposed) of the major sectors of education in the United States. It traces the rise of the major institutional forms of education and gives reasons for their emergence. These reasons are set in the broad context of basic social institutions. The treatment of the latter leads to a consideration of the power accruing to economic systems in a mass culture.

Two basic tenets of education are presented within this context:

1. Educational institutions serve to maintain the status quo;
2. Educational processes seek to change people's lives by offering to prepare them for new alternatives of action.

The paper reviews the theory of some economists that education in the United States fulfils the interests of the elite. By using education as a status quo device, the elite reserves higher standards of life for themselves and their children while schools prepare others to accept lesser roles.

This paper is concerned primarily with the relationship between education and work. Education has increasingly become the vehicle for unevenly dividing the amount of work available.

WORK AND EDUCATION

Nearly 15 years ago Venn wrote that the social complications attending technical advances had resulted in education coming to stand between people and work opportunity.[1] More recently, and in the same vein, Swanson noted:[2]

".... employers demand higher educational qualifications, even when the added educational component is not essential to the job ... We have become a society dedicated to licensing, certifying, and accrediting - all linked to some kind of educational qualification."

The significance of this lies in the importance attached to work. Goldstein (1973) wrote:

"Work is the central activity in the lives of

most people. Work provides an income, an identity and a structure around which other activities revolve."[3]

If work continues to be divided by education there will be a growing remainder in human form - those left without work opportunity of any kind. Broad questions then arise: should attempts be made to alleviate unemployment? Is there need for a national human resource policy? Behind such questions lie concerns about training structures geared to impart marketable skills and the role of government in creating jobs and supporting training for them.

Questions of this kind are not new, but they do have a new urgency. Our society has depended on work as a major mechanism for establishing identity, respect (status) and relative value for the greater part of its population. Our schools have been expected to be a major force in moving the young towards adulthood, and adulthood has been measured largely in terms of jobs and income.

We also have the problem of the unemployed who have lost jobs because of technical advances and who need retraining for different occupations or upgrading skills.

Schools will have to perform in a social climate in which their support is unlikely to be as automatic as in the past. This climate is the result of a substantial shift towards a conservative approach to human services. Social planners, including those found in education, are often viewed as "fuzzy headed liberals". The hard fact is that each decade in our history has seen an increased amount of schooling offered and required.[4] This has put emphasis and pressure on post-secondary education.

It would be helpful if those in education could agree on what education is about and who it is for. It is imperative that vocational educators in the secondary and post-secondary institutions articulate their philosophies and programmes. Leighbody set the challenge:

"Technology has a strong potential for depersonalising and mechanising the work life of men. It interposes the machine and systems of machines between man and his work, between man and his education and between man and man. A pre-eminent task of education is to re-humanise man in an environment which tends to de-humanise him."[5]

Educational institutions perform certain tasks well. There is, however, little evidence to suggest that the public understands what schools have been assigned to do, what they actually do, and why this is done.

There are no indications, for example, that either those working in schools or those supporting them appreciate the magnitude of the problems associated with schools having been asked to

perform, de facto, as a major custodial agent (holding tank) for people neither wanted nor needed in the work force. Countering the demographic reality of fewer young people coming up through the school system is the harsh fact that the young find it increasingly difficult to enter the labour market:

> "Youth unemployment has assumed staggering proportions. According to the OECD in the middle of 1977, there were 7,000,000 unemployed under the age of 25 in 23 industrialised ... countries. Young people account for some 40 per cent of the unemployed."[6]

Schools are a holding tank for many who would be working if work were available. This holding function is also one of the major functions of welfare (social security). Education and welfare have been regarded in the past as temporary, but youth unemployment may mean that both will be continuous rather than temporary stages.

This brings us back to the two basic tenets of education:

1. Educational institutions serve to maintain the status quo;
2. Educational processes seek to change people's lives by offering to prepare them for new alternatives of action.

These related tenets underlie both performance of and expectations from schools. Education, which seeks to cause learning (defined as inducing a calculated change of behaviour), deals with individuals - not societies - in its attempts to induce change. Individuals may later change societies, but there is no evidence that they do so as the direct result of having learned within institutionalised education.[7]

EDUCATION AND SOCIETY

It will help to justify conclusions if some simple boundaries are drawn for the arguments presented. The four basic social institutions - family, economic systems, governments, and religion - rise in direct response to social needs. All basic institutions impact on individuals and on each other. The linkage is the socialisation process. Socialisation is the total of processes brought to bear on individuals with the result that they will do, will seek to do, and will respect doing what it is that they have to do.

Socialisation then deals in power. Individuals conform or are dealt with. Governments have accrued great power since the rise of the nation state. One definition of government is that it is the process of legitimised coercion. This coercion must produce order (whether despotic or democratic is not the issue, as disorder is antithetical to government). The ordering processes require energy. Those benefitting from order are not only subject to sanctions if disorderly, but must provide the energy for the ordering processes - sons for the army or police, tax money for the conduct of government.

Socialisation is achieved by positive or negative sanctions. (Execution is the ultimate negative sanction.) Sanctions are applied to those who refuse or resist doing what they are expected to do. As governments have come increasingly to hold ultimate rights over sanctions, control of governments has become highly desirable in a power context.

Religions have long sought to control governments, as have pseudo religions based on economic theories. Religions satisfy man's demand for an explanation for life and death. There are rewards for being good Catholics or Protestants, good capitalists or communists. After all, it makes no biological sense to charge a loaded cannon, but religions (including nation states or economic systems) can induce this behaviour, either voluntarily or mandatorily, by explaining the potential sacrifice as being for the "greater glory".

It is possible that formal education is a fifth basic institution. It may be seen as an extension of government. It possesses coercive power. People must attend and they must behave appropriately while in school or sanctions are applied.

Economic systems expect education to produce suitably trained individuals who accept work roles. Yet training for work roles is not the single purpose of education. Or is it? If it is, schools could be said to be an extension not of governments, but of economic systems. Are they?

In the final analysis the custodial function of schools may set them aside in modern societies as basic social institutions. Schools function here in the company of welfare systems, prisons and peacetime armies in absorbing people not wanted or needed elsewhere. They meet the modern imperative of occupying such people for longer periods of time.

If schools have power over individuals, are critical to the socialisation process and satisfy the basic social imperative of preparing people for the work role and absorbing those for whom work is not available, an examination of what constitutes power is necessary.

Power in a mass setting is control over energy sources and time. It follows that this control automatically descends upon populations through production processes and control of wealth. It also assumes that control is best realised when the power is over basic resources necessary to meet the needs (real and assumed) of both individuals and societies.

Power is always relative. It exists in the personal sense when an individual controls options involving personal time and energy. The advantage of the rich over the poor is that the rich have greater control over their lives. The power of education has been that it has added these dimensions - control over time and energy and additional options. Are schools really meant to do that? If so, do they do it?

Lippman once observed that there is a strong tendency for

democracies to fall prey to their own propaganda.[8] It is not surprising that educationalists in the United States have repeated this tendency. It is also no wonder that they become alarmed when iconoclasts such as Illich, Jencks or Bowles and Gintis challenge the basic "truths" of American education.

The cardinal principles of education, as presented by Dewey-Pierce influenced educationalists of the 1930s and '40s, demonstrate the ultimate in self-deception as to the importance and role of educational institutions. American public education is believed to:

1. Be universal, at least to a certain age,
2. Be available, both physically and economically,
3. Be close to the control of the people and to serve their needs,
4. Have some consequence - usually in terms of delivering the possibility of economic mobility,
5. Offer "open" competition - the more able who exhibit discipline and effort will be those who will succeed,
6. Be uplifting for the general populace in that culture, nature and self are better appreciated,
7. Be a positive social leveller by reducing inequalities.

These views are not held only by educationalists; they are shared by the populace. For example, three research projects at the University of Chicago (1959) collectively reported that various American publics and sub-publics believed their schools should concentrate efforts in the broad areas of:

1. Intellectual dimensions (knowledge transmission);
2. Social dimensions (cooperation, rights, duties);
3. Personal dimensions (health, integrity, leisure pursuits);
4. Productive dimensions (vocational guidance and preparation, housekeeping and consumerism).[9]

Questions have recently been raised which suggest that schools were never intended to accomplish that which the public expects of them. Illich, for example, challenged all the basic foundations of American education by declaring it a vast waste of resources. Developing societies, be believes, should deschool themselves and use the money saved for better purposes.[10] Jencks and others went further by concluding that American schools further social inequalities rather than resolving or ameliorating them.[11]

Bowles and Gintis, in a recent important study, stated that despite common beliefs about schools, they did not and were never intended to distribute equal opportunities. Instead they serve the needs of the economic elite in the United States.[12] Their work was simultaneously praised and called "soft-headed" by Lekachman, an eminent economic theorist.[13]

His review of Bowles and Gintis produced the following:[14]

"Human philosophers of education like John Dewey and partisans of technical efficiency from Frederick Winslow Taylor onward have identified as the purposes of public education integration of young men and women into the labour force, equal opportunity for economic success and individual development. With rare exceptions ... the owners and bankers who run the economy have succeeded in shaping public schools and universities in the direction of the first of these goals almost to the exclusion of others. American education prepares suitable recruits for subordinate roles in the factories and the bureaucracies of large corporations.

".... the function of the public schools is to lower expectations, acquaint almost all of us with the experience of repeated failure, and encourage acceptance of life sentences to dull and monotonous labour.

"Their message (Bowles' and Gintis') is unambiguous: it is fruitless to expect education to alter existing distributions of income and wealth or even to discriminate fully according to relative ability.

"The conclusion of (their) meticulous inspection of evidence is predictable: education fulfils the class interests of capitalists and their allies. Public education legitimates their status, offers them as employers a dependable influx each year of socialised recruits to the labour force, and enables them to transmit their wealth, privileges and station in life to their own children. Thus it is that any thrust toward genuine equality of conditions and to generalised chances for self-realisation conflicts with the interests of the dominate class in American society."

Leighbody sounded an earlier warning about the narrowness of education, particularly of occupational education.[15]

"Occupational education must be more than a training programme. Producing efficient workers for American employers can no longer be the prime objective of occupational education. It will be a useful by-product of a programme which has much more comprehensive goals, but which places the educational needs of people above the immediate needs of the labour market."

The foregoing reveals strong differences of opinions regarding what American education is and who it is prepared to serve. An examination of educational institutions in terms of functions might now be helpful.

THE BROAD FUNCTIONS OF EDUCATION

Function here means what is actually done - the outcome. Intent is one thing; outcome can often be quite another. American schools appear to have at least four basic functions:

1. To serve in a custodial capacity - to absorb the energies of those neither needed nor wanted on the labour market.
2. To pass on cultural content and cultural behaviour patterns - broad socialisation requirements are met, such as reinforcing patriotism and teaching how to behave when faced with non-related power figures (teachers) and non-related peers.
3. To train to employability - to pass on marketable skills, and to reinforce the desirability of accepting and desiring a work role.
4. To discriminate among persons through competition and to exclude the "less able". By this exclusion they "protect" the public and establish the "benefit" of being educated by permitting certain people to pass through educational institutions with the implication that greater economic reward will accrue to the successful.

The last major function, discrimination, leads to secondary problems. Discrimination is accomplished through a set of elitist, racist and sexist practices. The primary set for these practices is found in the supporting society; the subset within schools merely reflects the societal set. Many find difficulty in reconciling the artificiality of an education which promises so much and delivers so little. For many education presents problems, not solutions. It stands between them and equalising opportunity.[16]

Most Americans have been exposed to education - some forcibly. There is, therefore, a pool of personal experiences in a setting which is philosophically committed to the individual, but which is actually committed to process and discrimination. Many have suffered indignities not easily forgotten. These practices are inconsistent with the generally held belief as to what education is about. The result is the love-hate affair Americans show towards their schools.

EDUCATION AND INCOME

Education was linked earlier in this paper to the potential for employment. For most middle class people education leads to employment which produces income which produces respect. Unemployment thus has psychological as well as economic significance:[17]

"While discussing unemployment's impact on

the jobless themselves, the authors thoroughly analyse the moral-psychological as well as socio-economic aspect of the problem. In their opinion, for the overwhelming majority of the unemployed, the former aspects (moral-psychological) are the hardest to bear."

It is important to note, however, that actual work need not be involved in gaining respect through income. Picture a long-haired youth with a sombrero, a guitar, a "joint and a jug" under a palm tree. Mental image - hippy-yippy, nogoodnik bum! But when the youth is introduced as Henry Ford the 16th, there is a mental switch. Why? He has access to income at the highest dignity level; it comes from a capitalist entrepreneurial past. However, the youth does not work, and for him to do so would simply deprive someone else of access to income.

The welfare recipient also has access to income. The difference is that the income is undignified. Welfare was never meant to be anything other than insulting with the intention that people would do anything - including the most demeaning labour - to escape it. The real (hidden) function of welfare may have changed, however, as was noted earlier.

One last example of the confusion between work and income. A railway fireman does not work in the usual sense, but he collects his pay with confidence that it represents dignified income. Haste is made to note that this is not viewed as wrong - in fact, there is need for more of these practices rather than fewer. The same argument holds for service occupations. More such arrangements would result in more people achieving dignified income. It matters not one whit if what is done is related to producing or to work as it is classically defined.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

American educational institutions can be traced from two prototypes - the common (elementary) school and the private college or university. The common school was for common folk, the university was for the uncommon folk - the elite. Harvard is used to stand for the college and university prototype and it should be remembered that there was no connection between the common school and Harvard.

These two institutions did, however, have the common function of preparing people to cope with and fit into a particular social class. In one instance people were assisted in dealing with the harsh realities of lives spent in pioneering, colonisation, and agricultural pursuits. In the other instance people were assisted in copying with the problems related to management of power, wealth and the country.

Schematically these two prototypical institutions can be represented by circles:

Figure 1

As the country moved from exploration through colonisation and agriculturisation and on to industrialisation, the needs of the people broadened and became more complicated. In many areas these needs could not be met by the little red school house. There was also now a clientele no longer moving directly onto the farm, or perhaps anywhere else in the labour market immediately. The common school was extended to grade eight and increasing percentages of an expanding population finished all eight grades.

The Land Grant University

The move to industrialisation brought new pressures to the private university. First, there were more people clamouring to get in than could be accommodated. Secondly, if these new people did get in they found little to prepare them for their future in an industrialised and mechanised society. The result was unmet educational needs and in the United States this has usually brought a new kind of educational institution into being. In this case it was the land grant university.

This new type of university was made possible by the Morrell Act of 1862. It was intended to bridge some of the gap between the "real" world and the "unreal" world of academe. In short, it was expected to serve the nation's agricultural and mechanical needs.

Figure 2

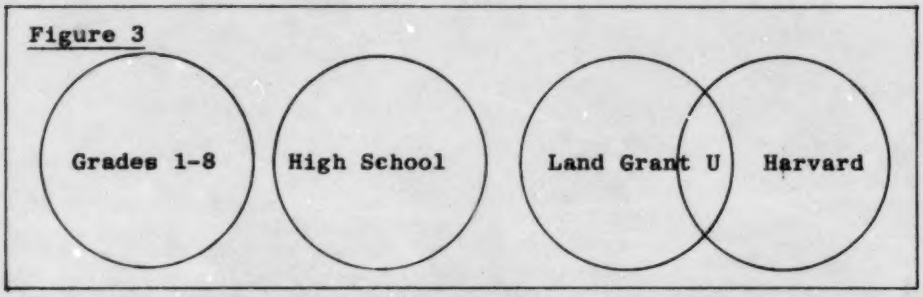
A nearly immediate seduction was led by faculty members of the new universities whose models were professors at the elite private instititions, i.e. Harvard. They sought to take their insitutions in that direction under the guise of "protecting standards". It is not uncommon now, more than a century later, to hear faculty members at the "agricultural and mechanical"

universities assert, "We are the Harvard of ....." This seduction damaged the possibility of these institutions filling the expectations held for them.

As the population increased, mechanical processes became more complicated and urbanisation began, more and more people sought to move from the common school to the university. In the past the private universities had been fed by students privately tutored or who had passed through private prep schools. These were not available to the general public because of location or expense. This produced another set of unmet needs and another major institution developed.

THE AMERICAN COMPREHENSIVE HIGH SCHOOL:

Figure 3



The modern high school was made possible by the Kalamazoo Case of 1872 which declared it legal for the common folk to tax their private property for the support of secondary schools. Full development waited for the surplus populations made available from the work force during the demobilisation period following World War I. New production processes during and following World War I demanded a higher level of technical skills. Not only were ex-soldiers looking for work, but public health practices now added years of life, and hence of work expectancy, and the young had to wait longer to enter the labour market. For these and other reasons, the new high school flourished.

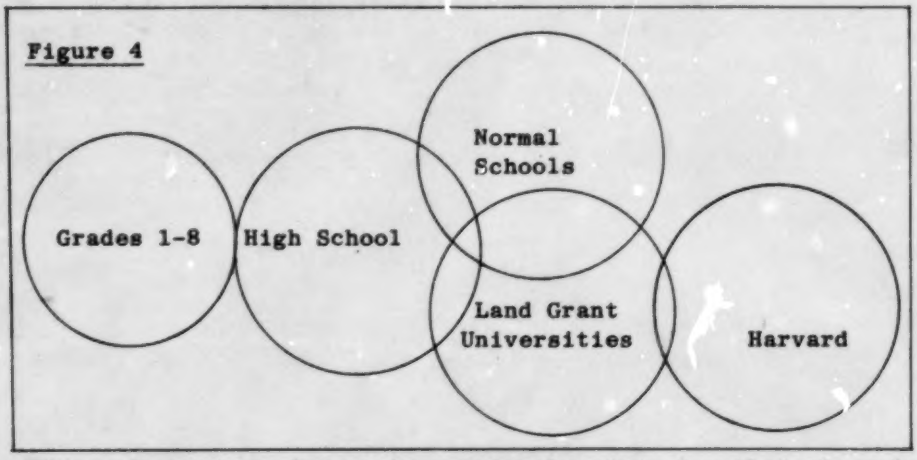
A most important feature of the new high school was that it served both as preparatory to the university and as a vocational training centre. Monies from the Smith-Hughes Act and its successors were used to create such programmes as farm or agricultural mechanics, home economics, machine shops and welding, secretarial science, etc. Their purpose was to relate the high school to the world around it and prepare people for immediate entrance into the labour market.

The Harvard mentality is a most pervasive one, and it often influences faculties prepared at universities but working in secondary or postsecondary (but nonbaccalureate) institutions. They counsel the "best" students towards their own successess - attend the university. It was not long before the intent of the vocational programmes was perverted, and the mories, in effect, channelled into college preparatory routes. Vocational educators with long memories recall this development with justifiable paranoia.

The Normal (State) College (College of Education):

With all the new students at the elementary and the rapidly expanding new high schools, teachers and administrators were needed on a scale unknown before. Though universities trained many people to work in the new common schools, a new institution was forced into existence to meet the demands for teachers. The normal school emerged.

Figure 4



Wisconsin went so far as to require by state law that there be a normal school or college in every county.

These normal schools have, of course, progressed through a more or less steady drift of adding years of study to teaching preparation programmes. Lately graduate degrees have been adopted with the seemingly inevitable move towards an emphasis on scholarship, i.e. the Harvard seduction trap was sprung again.

Many teacher preparation colleges have drifted through title changes - from being called a normal school or college to a state teachers' college and then to state teacher university and sometimes just to state university, e.g. Northern Iowa State University or Northern Illinois University.

Depending on how closely they attempted to ape the universities and on how they handled expansions of population during the last years of the Vietnam conscription, many must now pay for *not* having established and maintained a unique function separate from the university. There is an axiom involved when pressures for recruitment from the same populations occur:

Those institutions which attempt to mimic the university the closest and fail to develop unique services of their own cannot compete with those same universities for the same populations.

The reason for this is quite simple - the universities, either land grant or private, are regarded as more attractive for a variety of reasons.

Meanwhile the larger land grant universities had come to impact on the private college and university sector. The university had changed significantly. Four models were proposed by Wolfe to describe what they had become:[18]

1. The University as a Sanctuary of Scholarship
2. The University as a Training Camp for the Professions
3. The University as a Social Service Station
4. The University as an Assembly Line for Establishment Man.

It can be seen readily that most "major" universities attempt to embrace all four models simultaneously. The historic model carried over from the Harvard days, Model 1, is often hard put for primacy, particularly from the pressures of Model 2.

Meanwhile in what had become universities, particularly the public or land grant varieties, an internal revolution was taking place. Its roots were in faculties which attempted to keep scholarship as their primary function. This revolution effectively wrested control of the university away from trustees by emphasising the academic department, loyalty to "discipline" and "quality" research.[19] It can be suggested that this resulted from pressures mounted by faculties (consistently the most conservative element in any educational institution) to arrest the universities' move away from Wolff's Model 1.

The influence of conservative faculties, plus the adoption of screening devices for admission, resulted in the universities emerging as servants to the well-to-do. They were back to the Harvard model.

Hutton, a labour representative, would not cite the same causes as Jencks and Reisman, but he was certainly aware of what happened within universities:[20]

"The Morrill Act of 1862 established land grant colleges to serve all social classes. It specifically mandated these colleges to take in the "industrial classes" and to teach the "mechanical arts". Instead, these colleges decided to become the vocational schools for the well-to-do, and it was not until the middle 1920s that one of them - the University of Wisconsin - set up a school for workers."

The Community-Technical College:

The drift of land grant universities and state colleges towards the sanctuary of scholarship model (and as certification mills for those who needed it least) resulted in a host of unmet educational needs for a society now moving rapidly towards technicalisation, urbanisation and suburbinisation. A new institution predictably emerged. It did so at roughly the same time as the high school and the normal college, but it was not to reach fruition until the end of World War II. This

was the two year colleges called at various times junior, community or technical colleges and institutes and here referred to as community technical colleges.

There are some very different views of what these new colleges are all about. Hutton wrote:[21]

"Workers' education dates as far back as the Lyceum Movement, which began in 1826. One of the Lyceum's topics was the need for setting up "Manual Labor Colleges". The idea of community colleges found its germination here, for the Lyceum Movement addressed itself to all social classes of all ages. My friends, both you and the unions have had to wait a long time for "labor colleges" to bear fruit. But you have become worker's colleges - for 57 per cent of your full time students come from blue collar families, and well over half of all your students work for a living and also attend classes."

This view from a labour official should be contrasted with that of the academics as represented by Jencks and Reisman (both at Harvard!):[22]

".... (community colleges) recruit many of their faculty from the public schools, and many others from former teachers' colleges, hire relatively few Ph.D.s from major graduate schools, show comparatively little deference to professional academic opinion about how an institution of higher learning should be run, and consequently teach both subjects and students whom most scholars regard as worthless."

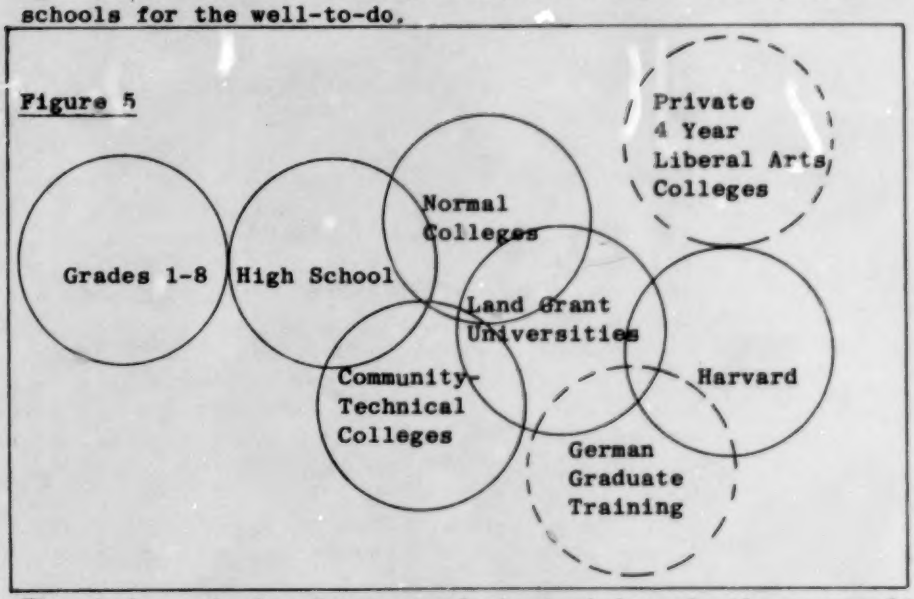
This view is shared, somewhat, by the economists Bowles and Gintis who were reported as convinced:[23]

"The spread of community colleges, the appearance of open admissions, and the rising proportion of young people in post-secondary instititions simply emphasise the distinction between ordinary and elite education. For the non-elite public colleges, just like the public schools, stress vocational preparation rigid requirements, heavy teaching schedules for faculty, and the normal authoritarian routines alike of the factory and the high school."

It is generally accepted that the present community-technical colleges prospered from these two quite disparate sets of views and hopes - on the one hand the hope of the common folk that they would be served by post-secondary education and on the other hand the hopes of academics that some kind of school would emerge to screen off the lower-division student and leave the universities free to emulate the University of Heidelberg. Heidelberg? What happened to Harvard?

The shift towards the German university as a model probably resulted from the same pressures which led Wolffe to present Model 2 above - The University as a Training Camp for Professionals. There were immediate pressures on the land grant universities to do likewise as the professions involved were essentially entrepenurial - doctors and dentists, lawyers, engineers, architects, etc. An immediate result, to note again, was that land grant universities became vocational schools for the well-to-do.

Figure 5



The shadowy circle, German graduate training, is the commonality bringing Harvard back towards the land grant universities. Here Harvard as a prototype should be abandoned as it is a very well endowed (rich) institution. Not all private institutions are so well off, and in the training of graduate students and the entreprenurial professions, the broader and richer tax base of the public has given the land grant institutions substantial advantages.

The private four year liberal arts colleges emerge - ghost like from the shadow of Harvard. These are the last sanctuaries of the philosophy of educational idealism. They are not important to the discussion at hand.

Meanwhile it could be helpful to examine what the new community-technical colleges have become. The literature about them which has come from people less hopeful than Hutton and less arrogant than Jencks and Reisman suggests they will offer, collectively:

1. Lower division (first two years) of university programmes which will serve both as general education and as parallels to the freshman and sophomore years of the university.

2. Courses geared towards imparting marketable skills for immediate entry into the labour market. These will be credit bearing or non-credit bearing without consideration of acceptance at another institution.

3. Other courses and activities which deal with employment, personal growth, or personal interests. These are offered to non-traditional populations at campus as well as non-campus sites.

4. Community service programmes by structuring experiences dedicated to both the enrichment of the cultural and personal lives of distinct service areas (communities) and the people within them.

5. Continuing counselling services for individuals and groups within their operations and communities.

Perhaps the greatest difference between these new colleges and universities is that community-technical colleges emphasise teaching - universities emphasise research. Land grand universities have a long tradition of offering community services and counselling services off campus, but within the faculties it is still "publish or perish" and the emphasis is on "quality" research, not on quality teaching. The teaching at community-technical colleges at comparable levels is superior to that found in universities. This statement is made with reference to class size, institution size, preparation of faculty; but more importantly - it is teaching that is emphasised.

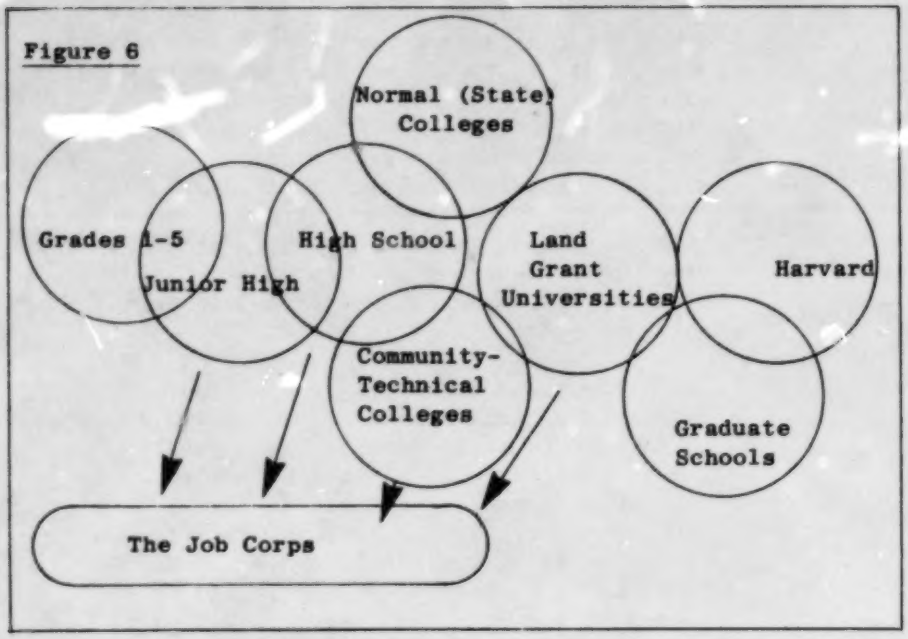
The difference between the new colleges and the high schools has centered on the vocational nature of the new colleges. High schools have come again, partly through the emphasis on career education and guidance, to reassign priority to having students move directly onto the labour market and not progress to another institution. There is also the recent phenomenon of "reverse transfer". This is the unemployed holder of a B.A. degree enrolling in a community-technical vocational programme to gain marketable skills. Before "reverse transfer" is lauded (that the institution is open on a first come first served basis to all) it must be determined whether these new "reverse transfers" displace others for whom the programmes were originally intended and who have greater pressures on them to gain employment. Will the new community-technical colleges be reduced to becoming, as other institutions have before them, merely vocational schools for the well-to-do?

The Junior High and the Job Corps:

Two more circles need to be added. First is one for the junior high (or middle school) which came into being by taking a year or so away from the elementary school plus a year or so away from the high school. It is the epitome of an institution dedicated to satisfying custodial function of education in a rich society. It can be described as a kind of psycho-social holding pen. It is also useful. The second is the Job Corps, and that is quite another matter.

The major importance of the Job Corps, as an innovative institution, is not only that it borrowed essentially from the military educational processes of clear cut statements of the competencies

Figure 6



to be gained and how they were to be taught, but that it is run on public funds by corporations seeking profits from the enterprise. It will probably never be known how much has been taken as profits.

The Job Corps came into existence to deal with people dismissed or driven away from other educational institutions and hence from occupational opportunity. The custodial function of the Job Corps is a clear cut expectation. It was also expected that the expertise and management skills of the private sector, together with new instructional approaches, would avoid the mistakes of other educational institutions in their handling of the harder pressed portions of our society. It was thought that large numbers of educationally and occupationally disadvantaged young people would be trained for immediate employment.

It was not to happen. Whether profit-taking confused the issue or whether it was simply impossible to build a truly new kind of educational system without duplicating earlier practices is not clear. What is clear is that very quickly there were large numbers of drop outs from Job Corps Centers which were built to deal with drop outs from other systems. The question then becomes: is the public willing continually to pay substantial prices for the development of new institutions to deal with the debris from existing ones? Another question is: is there any other answer?

The whole process was compromised from the start. It was simply not possible to train and move these people into jobs as work opportunities were not adequate. Nothing seems to have been learned from this, however. The belief that training by itself will result in employment is repeated in new programmes. This belief flies in the face of reality:[24]

"Another feature of unemployment today is its

diminishing dependence on the cyclical nature of capitalist production. In the past there was a clear connection between increased economic activity and low unemployment, but in the 1970s economic growth has not directly resulted in higher levels of employment."

In other words, available work is still divided by education. There is no even quotient and the remainder left over by the division is increasing. This should be put in an up-to-date social context:[25]

"Formal education is a major vehicle for transmitting knowledge, skills and culture to the population. Furthermore, education is one of a class of so-called "public goods"; its impact cannot be restricted to those who receive it daily. All persons are affected by the successes (or failures) of those who participate in educational activities. The issues of how much and what kinds of education should be made available to the populations thus are topics on the public agenda."

When people are denied the status and dignity which come with income and work, and the reason is tied to the educational processes of this democracy, do not ask for whom the bell tolls .....

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

These arguments allow suggestions for action. These are neither unique nor new, but it is hoped this paper will couch them in a new urgency. The recommendations follow some questions asked earlier:

1. Is there need for a human resource or human energy utilisation national policy?
2. Is it a wise use of time or thought to attempt to alleviate unemployment?
3. Is there a need to change training institutions to impart marketable skills better?

The answers presented here are: yes, no and yes. Yes, some attention must be paid to the question of the value of the human being in the United States. There seems to be a serious breakdown in the processes for equally achieving education and work oppportunity.

The second answer of "no" follows automatically as it is a waste of time to try to alleviate unemployment. There are no indications in the practice of adopting technologies to production and the way in which power and wealth are related that

people will come to be more valued in the production processes of any western society. We need to redefine what non-working means and to drop the perjorative connotations of the term unemployed. There are not now and there will not be, within present definitions of work or employment, jobs enough to go around.

The "y[illegible]" to question number three is because there is a need for a whole new reordering process of how human energy is used. This will require shifts in the relationships of education to the total life style of individuals. Two specific recommendations then follow:

1. Tracing the development of educational institutions in the US leads to the conclusion that new ones repeat the mistakes of old ones. Because they maintain the status quo and possibly increase inequality, they allow themselves no alternative. The processes within the institutions resist change. It must be seriously challenged whether any institution can be called "new" if it deals with faculties, credits, standards, degrees and buildings.

   We have wasted too much time and energy in trying to change something which cannot or will not change. A better use of the energy involved would be to invent wholly new institutional forms which do not have roots in either status maintenance, the military, welfare, or instititionalised education.

   A compulsory and voluntary national service crops could easily be constructed along lines which allow status to accrue to the individuals involved and use their energies profitably for themselves and the country. It would be planned without reference to age, sex, race, class, or previous education or work experience. The rich would be forbidden to hire substitute conscripts as was convertly done through the vehicle of higher education in the Vietnam War.

   When the capitalist elite object to it as "fuzzy headed social-educational planning" fraught with the perils of bureaucracy led by liberal "do-gooders", let them seize the opportunity of propcsing contracts to do the job. This would follow the precedent set in the conduct of the Job Corps. But this time the corporations would be evaluated and held accountable to demonstrate the value of their efficiency. This was not done early enough in the Job Corps.

2. Direct experience in technical, industrial, agricultural, or social service occupations would be a requirement for admission into post-secondary education. Such use of human energy could not be used to displace anyone in the present work force.

   As long periods of people's lives will be spent in unemployment, it is essential to redefine work and

unemployment. The new definitions must come to grips with the problem of how people are to acquire dignified income. There is no justification for the notion that people must get through educational institutions and onto the labour market more quickly. A direct experience qualification would reverse the lamentable trend of accepting work experiences for degree programme credits. Such a practice would be attached to admission, not to departure.

A caveat must be introduced immediately against the likelihood that a national service crops would prove impossible for political or other reasons. People might simply refuse to re-engage in work experience prior to seeking entrance into post-secondary education. This would be a real threat to establishment education as the supply of students would dwindle. It might prove possible to introduce a combination of inducements and pressures on both employment and education to lead to an alliance between them:[26]

The need to restructure both work and education in order to encourage, stimulate and facilitate an inter-mixture of the two is inevitable. It would ease the problem of matching education to the needs of the labour market, fit the emerging and changing career patterns of most people and possibly result in a better utilisation of resources on both fronts .... (and).... Redesigning the systems of education and employment would involve an alliance that could be adapted to meet the needs of people with varying amounts of training, work and life experiences. Since learning propels people from stage to stage and helps them to cope with the changing conditions of each stage, it is likely that this alliance would occur as a series of short-term changes that would be developed into a long-term strategy of life-long learning."

Goldhammer, dean of the College of Education at Michigan State University, observed years ago that if we live to be 90 by the year 2000, we would probably spend the first 30 years in something called education, the next 30 in something called work, and the last 30 in something called retirement. Though he may be accurate in his prediction, the concept is wrong because the sequence of roles is in error. There are two options:

1. Go to school for 30 years, retire for 30 years and then work ourselves to death. This would solve many problems.
2. Blend education, work and retirement throughout life in a stop-and-go fashion which would allow more people access to each phase.

Alternatives are the joy of richness. Education has been an enriching process for most as it has yielded alternatives.

It has not done so fairly. It must, in the context of society and with the support of that society, come more clearly to help relieve the problems of the compromised remainder which results when education divides up the work available.

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